1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1, *b*).

The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alatakupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tuiuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kolo*) of *vatea* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*aliki nolo*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[626/776] ber to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tasa's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

526 At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick.
423 Whoever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to
621 mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki laio te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or resisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on
423 Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide
776 village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tasa in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this
423 reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among [548] some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata maiva*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

Te pivaʻ elo, malo piqilo,	Pig smelling, malo stinking,
E kisi ya wano la tua	(He) has not gone to the back (beach to defecate)
Tuku la ki te wakayaya	(He has) placed himself in sacredness
Kae mea loa e no ai.	No thing (body) visible (through the filth).

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "soft"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vanaŋa	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu emeau pe te poi[1]	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E kua yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

[1] The vowels are uncertain, because the use of the Tahitian *pua'i* for pig (from ovens) and *poi* for pudding (steamed ones).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kaleva*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukutuku or wakayeke: to pay out a line.
Wawai: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or langa: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Toivi: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakmatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yolu or mouuna: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua uouine* (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia loue i te mauua kava" (You have a bitter bait).

In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka kaya*).

Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*yiouga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Makokitelangi, near the western reef channel to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-hook. The gift (*makaiuka*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui ne maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*matutuna, makamaniu*), a young man or woman may change (*wale*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and 613 join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he 884 wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join [578] the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wale* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across those kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. 156 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept 626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island com- 558 munity. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *aua* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-
616 lineages each of which is called a *hoiaupo*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *aua* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *aua* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to 613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wua* means 616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal 124 social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

773 The origin of the *aua* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

627 The owner of the stolen property might
go to the house of the man whom he suspected and, in turn, take articles to
671 the value of those missing, thus provoking a quarrel. Disputes arising from
such actions or from unjust accusations were settled by wrestling, where a
378 fall in the ring decided the matter, or else by a stand-up fight with sticks; to
administer a good beating was considered adequate compensation for the loss
of goods or for the loss of a wife. If the thief was discovered, the stolen
goods were returned in full by him or his family, or else goods of the same
value were paid, or a gift might be made to the injured party, large enough
to be considered adequate reparation.

626 If the thief was not discovered, his children, own or classificatory, born
763 before or after the theft, would certainly die early deaths. The remarks of
neighbors might then lead the thief to confess his earlier fault. In the con-
fessional held round a death bed, thieving is one of the matters which rela-
tives close to the dying person are particularly requested to confess.

674 Thieving was rare in Pukapuka, owing to ease of detection, but the stories
627 of Nuanua and Kieilu show the type of behavior it evoked when it occurred:

Nuanua was fishing on the back beach where he picked up a piece of driftwood bamboo to which he found several huge pearl shells attached. He took the bamboo to the lagoon and securely anchored it there to allow the shells to grow bigger. One night all the shells were stolen from the bamboo. Nuanua inquired everywhere, but with no results. He searched month after month, and many times interrogated Tipui, a man whom he suspected of the theft. All was fruitless, and Nuanua died without having found his shells. After this, the children of Tipui, and even of some of his relatives, began to die sudden, mysterious deaths. One day, Tipui himself became very sick. Everyone thought he would confess his theft. But he still feared surviving relatives of Nuanua. On his death bed, however, when he knew he could not recover from his illness, Tipui confessed his sin. It was too late to save his family which died out very soon thereafter.

Kieilu was a noted warrior (*toa*) in the time of the chief Maina. One day he went bonito fishing. On his return, he put his line and six pearl-shell hooks in fresh water to wash out the salt. He put them in a little pool (*loto*) which then existed behind the present London Missionary Society church. Then he went to the back beach. Coming home again, he found that his rod and hooks had all disappeared. He hunted everywhere for them without result. Being a great warrior, he pulled down many of the houses close by, such was the frenzy of his search. He threatened to kill the people in these houses if they did not tell who had stolen the precious hooks. Every search proved fruitless, and to this day, these hooks have not been found. But the
[578] people who lived about this pool were called *manava ula* (red bellies). If one wishes to insult a person living in this place even today, one calls him *manava ula*, a terrible reminder of an earlier shame.

The story of Weina, combining motifs of theft and murder, illustrates permissible individual retribution (1).

578 Slander (*saka muna*, "throwing words") was apparently a common cause of dispute in former days, as, indeed, it is today. If one man slandered another, the injured party challenged the slanderer to a wrestling contest and tried to throw him. If he succeeded, he explained to the people that he tried for an extra bad fall because of the slander. If the injured party was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Cultural Attitude Toward Death

761 It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due
764 to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purifi-
cation rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse,
of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The
underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the
mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retire-
ment until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the
passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the
769 Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a ceme-
761 tery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in
order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a ceme-
tery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are
mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut
lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If
one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is
legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones,
rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the ceme-
tery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking
a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one
will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the
native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children
play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pan-
danus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the head-
stones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy
769 awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or
761 Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an
intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan
775 indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight.
But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that
the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness
in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

521 It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing
609 people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips in-
tensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever
626 occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting
interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the
behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names
but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for
instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

to be *mata hivitivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata hivitivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngahau hino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wehelahepeke;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wehelahepeke*. This word is distinguished from the words *weiteki*, *weinehi*, and *matemeas*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *weiteki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *weiteki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wehemitemite*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wehemitemite*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yeyeleweiu futeina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakeuya*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakiange;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yakeyake;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanae;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yae;* one who steals food is *teyeyeye;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *fuipafuipa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *lanu:* a crippled person has a *lanu;* a bald-headed man has a *lanu* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku vaia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku maua* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku vaia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *uwi vaia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *uwi maua*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye uwi vaia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye uiliyuli* (one who does not select people).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *wolo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*male lakau*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *tuale tuhegamua* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*guwogu yu*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuan, who,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

THE FIGHT IN WALETOA

539 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
173 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the
669 island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa[1] torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 [1] The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which
626 hung strips of *welo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
678 a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *vaka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikaiana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparing use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Ruvettus* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayake. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of taro. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan